

Message Text

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ACTION NEA-10

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CINCPAC

C O N F I D E N T I A L DACCA 1963

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

E.O. 11652: GDS
TTAGS: PINT, PGOV, BG
SUBJECT: ZIA AND THE POLITICIANS

REF: DACCA 1920

1. MUCH OF THE LATEST IN A SERIES OF CONVERSATIONS BETWEEN NATIONAL SECURITY INTELLIGENCE DIRECTOR GENERAL S.A. HAKIM AND POLCOUNSELOR, MARCH 30, WAS DEVOTED TO PRESIDENT ZIA'S ATTEMPT TO FORGE A POLITICAL FRONT AND HIS PROBINGS TOWARD A METHOD OF TRANSFER POWER TO A REPRESENTATIVE POLITICAL SYSTEM.

2. HAKIM DID NOT CONFIRM ALL THAT WAS REPORTED IN REFTEL (WHICH DEALT PRIMARILY WITH COMMENTS MADE BY NAP/B FACTION LEADER MASHIUR RAHMAN) BUT HAKIM'S REMARKS CONFIRMED IN GENERAL WITH MASHIUR'S. HAKIM
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SAID THAT ZIA HAS BEEN CONTINUING AND INCREASING THE TEMPO OF HIS MEETINGS WITH POLITICAIAANS AND THAT MASHIUR WAS ONE WHO HAD RECEIVED MUCH ATTENTION. HAKIM SAID THAT HE WAS UNAWARE OF A SIGNED AGREEMENT BETWEEN MASHIUR AND ZIA BUT DID NOT DENY THAT ONE EXISTED.

3. HE SAID THAT BOTH HE AND ZIA HAD HAD SEVERAL MEETINGS

RECENTLY WITH ATAUR RAHMAN KHAN AND THAT THIS WAS PROVING TO BE THE HARDEST NUT TO CRACK. ATA'S PRESENCE IN THE FRONT WAS DESIRED NOT SO MUCH FOR HIS IMMEDIATE POLITICAL PARTY FOLLOWING, WHICH IS NOT GREAT, BUT BECAUSE HE IS A RESPECTED ELDER STATESMAN WHO IS VIEWED AS NOT CORRUPT (THE ONLY ONE, BESIDE ZIA, HAKIM SAID). BUT ATA WAS STILL INSISTING ON THE SOVEREIGNTY OF PARLIAMENT AS REPRESENTATIVE OF THE PEOPLE AND WHILE THE GAP HAS BEEN NARROWED IT WAS STILL CONSIDERABLE. HAKIM MAINTAINED THAT NEITHER ZIA NOR ATA WANTED TO TALK WITH THE OTHER BUT THAT HAKIM WAS ABLE TO CONVINCE THE TWO TO MEET.

4. HAKIM SAID THAT HE WAS CONCERNED TO SOME DEGREE THAT, WITH THE PRINCIPAL EXCEPTION OF ATA, SEVERAL OF THOSE WHO WERE WILLING TO COME INTO THE FRONT WERE FAR TO THE LEFT IN THEIR POLITICS, BUT HE ADDED THAT HE CONSIDERED THEM NATIONALISTS FIRST AND LEFTISTS WHO WERE PRAGMATIC AND NOT DOCTRINAIRE.

5. HOWEVER, HE SAID MORE BALANCE IN THE FRONT WOULD BE HELPFUL IF IT COULD BE OBTAINED. ONE ELEMENT WOULD BE JAGODAL ITSELF WHICH, DESPITE THE PRESENCE OF SOME "LEFTISTS" LIKE ENAYETULLAH KHAN, WAS BASICALLY A MODERATELY CONSERVATIVE GROUP. ANOTHER PROSPECT, ALTHOUGH A MINOR ONE, WAS THE ASSOCIATION OF SOME PARTS OF THE MUSLIM LEAGUE. HE SAID THAT HE AND OTHERS WERE SURPRISED TO SEE

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THE EXTENT TO WHICH MUSLIM LEAGUERS WERE ABLE TO WIN IN IN THE UNION COUNCIL ELECTIONS.

6. ANOTHER GROUP WHICH MIGHT BE ADDED WAS THE MIZANUR RAHMAN CHOUDHURY FACTION OF THE AWAMI LEAGUE. HAKIM SAID THAT HE THOUGHT IT WOULD BE IMPOSSIBLE FOR THE AWAMI LEAGUE TO REMAIN UNITED AND DID NOT HIDE HIS AGENCY'S ROLE IN ENCOURAGING A FORMAL SPLIT. HE SAID THAT MIZANUR RAHMAN AND HIS ASSOCIATES COULD NOT REMAIN IN THE PARTY WITH THE "SOVIET AGENTS" REPRESENTED BY ZOHRA TAJUDDIN AND MOHIUDDIN AHMED, ADDING THAT HE WAS AWARE THAT FUNDS WERE BEING SUPPLIED BY THE SOVIETS AND OTHER EASTERN EUROPEANS TO THIS FACTION. HE WAS NOT SURE, HOWEVER, HOW MUCH OF THE ORGANIZATION WOULD GO WITH MIZANUR RAHMAN AND THROUGH THAT THE STUDENT AFFILIATE WAS STRONGLY IN THE ZOHRA CAMP PARTLY AS THE RESULT OF SOVIET FINANCING.

7. THUS, IN HAKIM'S VIEW, IF ALL WENT WELL ZIA COULD GO TOWARD AN ELECTION WITH JAGODAL, MASHIUR'S FACTION OF THE NAP/B, KAZI ZAFAR AHMAD'S UNITED PEOPLE'S PARTY, APART OF BOTH THE MUSLIM LEAGUE AND THE AWAMI LEAGUE AND SOME SMALLER GROUPS. HE SEES NO DANGER THAT ZIA WOULD NOT WIN A

PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION WITH THESE IN THE FRONT ALONG WITH
HIS OWN PERSONAL ATTRACTIVENESS.

8. NOTE TO REFTTEL, PARAGRAPH 4: CHOWDHURY, WHO WAS IN
YAHYA'S CABINET NOT AYUB'S, HAS NOT REPEAT NOT
DRAFTED CONSTITUTIONAL CHANGES BUT HAS, HE SAID, ADVISED
ZIA ON WHAT CHANGES MIGHT BE MADE TO ADAPT TO EITHER AN
AMERICAN OR FRENCH TYPE OF PRESIDENTIAL SYSTEM.
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